

## AN ADDRESS

**'In Boot and Shoe Workers',  
Especially Lynn Local No. 52.**

## THE RIGHT ORGANIZATION.

A Member of the Craft Addresses his  
Fellow—Full Review of the Situation  
of Labor in General and the Shoe  
Workers in Particular—A Wise Pro-  
posed Amendment to Constitution of  
the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

Greeting—  
The question of what to do with the  
unemployed is the vital one before the  
world to-day, and in the solution of that  
question the wage-workers are the most  
deeply interested.

Wages are being reduced and con-  
ditions are getting worse, not because of  
the smartness of the employers to worst  
the trade unions, but because of the  
large number of hungry unemployed,  
who are begging for a job, many of the  
unorganized offering to work for any  
price, until the employers get sick of the  
question, and put out signs: "Keep out;  
no help wanted."

It is not surprising that these employ-  
ers (who shut their eyes to the fact that  
the smaller the wage the less shoes they  
can sell), should take advantage of the  
situation, and

## CUT US DOWN

just because they can. If the situation  
were reversed, and employers were  
hunting for workmen at any price, we  
would probably secure better prices and  
conditions, and it would not be because  
of any particular smartness of the trade  
union either.

There are twice as many shoe manu-  
facturers and twice as much capital in-  
vested than the demands of the market  
require; hence

## PIERCE COMPETITION

among these manufacturers.  
The result must ultimately be com-  
bination, and the squeezing of the weak-  
est down into the ranks of the wage  
workers, and finally from the employed  
workers into the idle or tramp class.

The manufacturers cannot reduce the  
cost of the material or of the machin-  
ery, because the capitalists who have  
these to sell have got their unions thor-  
oughly organized and maintain a trust  
price.

They cannot reduce rents, taxes or  
interest, because these are dependent  
upon legislation, which is controlled by  
the capitalistic class, in the success of  
whom they are directly interested.

Their energy is therefore expended  
along the line of least resistance, and  
the full force falls upon poor, divided,  
over-crowded labor.

How shall we provide remunerative  
employment for the unemployed is the  
question. The Lynn Lesters' Union, if  
true to its past record, must

## TAKE THE LEAD.

in proposing a solution. If we can  
secure jobs for the unemployed, the wages  
of our men and the conditions under  
which we will consent to labor will be  
easily adjusted, and life will be life, in-  
stead of a lingering death from slow  
suicide, caused by work and worry.

The unemployed need everything that  
labor produces. They are anxious and  
able to produce it. The country has

## AN ABUNDANCE

of natural resources idle. Our inventive  
genius is unsurpassed. Why are we  
suffering for the necessities of life?

Simply because the opportunity to pro-  
duce is controlled by a few sharks for  
their own private gain.

We don't blame the sharks one half  
as much as we blame the millions of  
citizens who allow the sharks to exist  
and control.

It costs as much to try and raise  
money enough to fight the money of our  
combined enemies, and pay for food for  
the unemployed, which we must do if  
we keep these hungry unemployed from  
snatching our jobs when trying to right  
wrong by means of the strike.

It costs us nothing to vote!

There are many of us on election day,  
and our enemies are few. The most  
successful trade union of the future  
must require its members to make use  
of their

## VOTING POWER

as well as their money power and their  
manhood.

You have elected a labor man as Mayor  
because you are sore over the treatment  
received from manufacturers and from  
the powers of municipal government,  
who clubbed and fined you into obedi-  
ence of the unfair manufacturers' de-  
mands. He can do but little to be ever  
so good, on account of not having exist-  
ing laws in favor of his ideas.

We have the voting strength to con-  
quer the powers of government and  
place industry in control of the people,  
instead of in the hands of private cut-  
throats and combines.

How much longer shall we suffer  
want—want of work, want of food, want  
of clothing and want of life?

How many more of our fellow men  
must commit slow suicide by facing the  
inhuman conditions caused by the com-  
petitive wage system, before you will  
get brave enough to lay aside your pre-  
judice against collective ownership by  
the people of the opportunity to produce  
bread for yourselves and families; and  
put into the obligation of the Boot and  
Shoe Workers' Union a clause which  
says:

"We do solemnly swear that we will  
use vote for any of the old capitalistic  
party, and we pledge ourselves by all  
we hold sacred in life and by our hope  
of happiness hereafter, that we will vote  
for the Socialist Labor party and its  
platform, and do all in our power to

expel from our ranks any member who,  
after fighting our enemies all the year,  
turns round and helps them into power  
and control on election day."

If we can approach the unorganized  
with a plan of action of this kind, we  
can

## ORGANIZE THE CRAFT.

We have then unanswerable argu-  
ments. We can hold up ahead of our  
preliminary moves, organization, strike,  
boycott and union stamp the grand prin-  
ciples of the Co-operative Common-  
wealth, where no one need go hungry,  
or cold, or homeless or out of a job,  
only those who refuse to work.

We want new methods and new hopes  
ahead of the workers, to put fresh cour-  
age into the hopeless and disheartened.  
The way is plain; the end an assured  
success. Our votes are so numerous  
that we cannot fail if we unite in this  
direction, and it won't cost us anything  
to try. Let us unite before our right of  
suffrage is taken away from us.

The popular idea among trade union  
leaders is to engraft out of work, travel-  
ling, sick and death benefits on to our  
organization. That means a large in-  
crease of dues.

When those who are so fortunate as  
to have jobs decide to contribute enough  
from their small earnings to care for the  
unemployed, they undertake a big  
job, and one that will be ever on the in-  
crease so long as the competitive wage-  
system exists. It means more chipped  
in collectively from our already small  
wage to enable all to live through the  
ever-lengthening periods of depression,  
so

## THE SLAVES

can be in good condition when business  
starts for a few weeks.

I don't believe in this. We can add  
our voting strength to the many good  
things we have already got, and it won't  
cost us one cent. It will frighten our  
enemies into better treatment, because  
they realize we have the power—easy—  
to take industry out of their hands en-  
tirely, and are commencing to make use  
of that power. It will call to our sup-  
port a world-wide body of men who have  
buried the question of race or creed,  
who understand the true principles of  
political and industrial warfare, who  
recognize the class struggle, and who  
know that ours is a revolutionary move-  
ment to conquer the powers of govern-  
ment and place industries on a

## CO-OPERATIVE BASIS.

where the people produce for use, in-  
stead of for private profit. A body of  
men who are determined to work for the  
emancipation of the wage-worker by  
every known legitimate means until we  
are free.

I recommend that Local 32 propose an  
amendment to our constitution for the  
consideration of our next convention in  
accord with the above ideas, and that  
each member study the true

## MEANING OF SOCIALISM

free from all prejudice, and become  
convinced of its practicability and  
beauty.

We do not need to give up any of our  
present weapons, but just make use of  
one new one.

The Socialist who becomes such a fan-  
atic that he decides to work against his  
class on the industrial field, and help out  
the unfair employer by scabbing a job  
deserves our condemnation.

The trade unionist who makes use of  
his political power for the benefit of  
our oppressors also deserves our con-  
demnation; only it has not yet become  
so popular to look with disfavor on him  
as it has on the industrial scab; how-  
ever, there is a healthy growth in that  
direction.

Man was cursed by being told that he  
must labor; in the sweat of his brow he  
must eat bread.

There are four millions unemployed  
in this country looking for a chance to  
get in under the curse, so as to get a  
little bread—and they can't find the  
chance.

Every invention which enables one  
man to produce what it formerly took  
one hundred men to produce, ought to

## LIGHTEN LABOR

in the same proportion, until the curse  
was nearly removed.

But the opposite is the result, owing  
to our system of industry. Each labor-  
saving machine increases the unem-  
ployed, and makes opportunity less.

If the inventive genius of the future  
should enable us to produce goods  
simply by pressing a button, the most of  
the people would starve because none  
could get a job, even while it was so  
very easy to produce all which hungry  
humanity needs. Isn't it absurd to allow  
present conditions to continue, when  
all that is necessary is for the people to

## OWN THE BUTTONS

and press them for themselves?

The employers themselves would be  
better off because their ability, if they  
have any, as they claim, to man-  
age industry would be needed under  
Socialism, and that ability would re-  
ceive ample and sure reward. The fierce  
competition which causes them to lie  
awake nights planning how to come out  
square at the end of the year would be  
removed.

Many of our members object to So-  
cialism because they are prejudiced  
against the name or have some personal  
dislike for those who advocate it, and  
if asked the simple question: What is  
Socialism? are not able to answer.

I kindly request you to read and study  
this subject, and thoroughly under-  
stand before you decide and condemn.

In the meantime let each do all he can  
in the industrial field for the organiza-  
tion and financial betterment of the  
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, so that  
when we reach that happy time when,  
unitedly we enter the political field, we  
shall have no regrets for any past neg-  
lect of duty, and will have that respect  
for the cause and for each other, because  
of past efforts and suffering together,  
which will enable us to overcome every  
obstacle placed in the path of progress.

Yours for Right and Life,

FRED S. CARTER.

Lynn, Mass.

## CAMPING

**On the Trail of the Aspiring Politician in  
Brooklyn.**

Mr. Edward M. Grout, of Fishy Cap-  
italist Antecedents, Seeks Notoriety  
and an Office by Booming the Glasgow  
Plan of Municipalism—He is Run  
Down by a Socialist.

This is the story of the game of pol-  
itics as played in Kings County:  
It is an interesting tale, worthy of the  
careful study of the people in general,  
and of sympathizing Socialists in par-  
ticular.

When you have studied the facts in  
connection with it, you will readily see  
the foolishness of the "one thing at a  
time" idea and the stupidity or knavish-  
ness of those who propose to help the  
people by any other method than a  
struggle on class lines.

There is a gentleman in Brooklyn  
named Edward M. Grout, well and favor-  
ably known to the politicians of the  
City of Churches and hunger. He was  
the standard bearer of the Ring Democ-  
racy in the last Mayoralty campaign.  
He is a corporation lawyer of note, and  
made quite a name for himself after the  
trolley strike by his defence of the mem-  
bers of the 13th regiment when they  
were tried for the murder of young  
Carney, who was shot in Hicks street by  
the militia while engaged at his trade  
of repairing roofs.

This eminent citizen, for reasons best  
known to himself, conceived the idea  
of stirring up sentiment in favor of "The  
public ownership of street cars, gas and  
electric light plants in the Greater New  
York," a la "Glasgow plan," of course.

It did not take long to set the wheels  
of agitation in motion.

There is a large and ever increasing  
army of disgruntled office seekers in  
Brooklyn, who are ready at a moment's  
notice to jump in and work for any man  
or set of men who can promise them  
some pap in the event of success. There  
is also a number of well-meaning  
cranks who profess with tears in their  
eyes that they "are as good Socialists as  
you are." But, alas, you are not going  
the right way about it. They propose  
you should try "direct legislation," "co-  
operative colonies," "single tax," "muni-  
cipal ownership," "initiative and refer-  
endum," "government banks"—any-  
thing, in short, but the class-conscious  
demand of the workers that the cap-  
italist must step down and out, that  
demand emphasized by the revolution-  
ary fall of the S. I. D.

That a scheme of municipal own-  
ership such as Mr. Grout proposes should  
meet with the hearty indorsement of  
those gentlemen is not to be wondered  
at. They had furthermore the promise  
of support from the policy shop, "Citi-  
zen," a paper owned and controlled by  
the Hon. Judge Delmar and other ring  
politicians of Brooklyn. The next  
thing in order was the starting of the  
"Citizens' Democratic League" by the  
cranks and office seekers afore men-  
tioned. Everything was now ready for  
launching the scheme.

The ball was opened at a "citizens'"  
meeting in the Jefferson building, on the  
second week in January. Mr. Grout  
made a very able speech, which was  
published in full in the "Citizen" the  
following day, with the announcement  
that Mr. Grout would repeat his speech  
before the Democratic League two  
weeks later.

Up to this all was plain sailing. But  
Nemesias was after Mr. Grout and his  
peculiar collection of pink tea revolution-  
ists, or single taxers, populists, etc.,  
etc. Nemesias took the form of a  
young Socialist, who had the red card in  
his pocket and his head full of facts,  
and sported an Irish brogue. The time  
for questioning having arrived, the fol-  
lowing incident took place that caused  
the first puncture in Mr. Grout's public  
ownership proposition:

Soc.—Mr. Chairman, I would like to  
ask Mr. Grout a question. Before doing  
so, I wish to lay down one or two  
premises on which to base my question.  
They are as follows: The electric light,  
apart from its public function of light-  
ing the streets, is the light of the rich,  
as it is only in the parlors of Columbia  
Heights, the Park Slope and the mil-  
lionaire residence districts that we find it.  
Gas is the light of the middle class  
and fairly well to do. It is in flats rent-  
ing from \$18 to \$50 a month that gas is  
burned. Oil is the light of the very  
poor. The longshoreman, the porter,  
the helper, the washwoman, the strug-  
gling widow. As you understand those  
premises and how acknowledgment to  
them, kindly answer this question: Are  
you in favor of the public ownership of  
the most damnable monopoly of them  
all—The Standard Oil Company?

The effect of this plain statement and  
logical question on those men present  
who had no axe to grind, who came  
there as disinterested spectators, was  
wonderful. They jumped to their feet  
electric with the energy of hope. The  
hope that seemed to come into their  
hearts for the first time that in the ap-  
plication of this simple proposition lay  
the solving of the trust problem. They  
waved their hats, they cheered again  
and again, utterly oblivious of the fact  
that Mr. Grout was standing waiting to  
reply.

The reply came—a nail in the coffin of  
the hopes just born. It was in sub-  
stance that the proposition of his was  
merely a local one, one applying to the  
Greater New York, and therefore he  
could not say anything about the Stan-  
dard Oil Company save this, that the  
Standard Oil Company owned some gas  
companies. We would take them from  
them, of course paying them interest-  
bearing gold bonds for them. This  
reply gave birth to several other ques-  
tions in the Socialist's mind; but as the  
single taxers and populists all wanted  
the floor, any more questions was ruled  
out of order by the chairman.

Thus ended the first Socialist attack  
on Mr. Grout; the second, in which he  
met him in debate, will be published  
in next week's PEOPLE. T. A. H.

## STATE CAPITALISM.

**Governor Pingree's Plan to Save a  
Drowning Class.**

The Uncertainty of Property, Bred by  
Capitalism, Reaches Such a Point in  
these Days of its Maturity that it  
Seeks to Identify Itself With the  
Government which it Owns.

DETROIT, Mich., Feb. 16.—I have  
undertaken to get articles criticising  
the present system printed in capitalist  
and pure and simple unionist papers.  
Occasionally I get them printed right;  
sometimes they clip them; sometimes  
they change them, and then again they  
refuse to take them.

The following article was returned by  
the "Detroit Evening News" as "too  
long;" they wanted to clip it; it was re-  
turned by the "Free Press" after it had  
lain on the editor's table for a whole  
week; they gave no explanation.

This is the article:

Please allow space for the following  
criticism of an article which appeared  
in the "Evening News" under the head-  
ing "Monopoly Encourages the Growth  
of Socialism." It states that "the public  
must be protected against the public-  
damned policy of a quasi trust which  
controls the market."

This I agree with, but the "News"  
confuses Socialism with government  
ownership pure and simple, and hence  
its reasons for the excuseableness of  
municipal ownership are false.

Corporations and trusts encroach and  
have encroached upon the rights of the  
individual continually. But the incon-  
sistency of the present system lies  
deeper than its simple inability indi-  
cates to protect the interests of the busi-  
ness men, by giving them cheaper light,  
water, telephones, etc.

The necessity for Socialism may be  
found in the necessity to establish a  
system where consumption corresponds  
with production. It is in the irregular,  
anarchistic method of production and  
distribution which we have to-day that  
lies the weakness and inconsistency of  
capitalism. The interests of the busi-  
ness man, as well as the interests of the  
workers, demand a "return to prosper-  
ity," but "confidence" means something  
more than "prosperity." Prosperity  
means that the people enjoy a certain  
something, a certain equipment, which  
enables them to buy and consume as  
much as they have produced. This  
equipment was not restored to the people  
of the United States at the last elec-  
tion, and hence the continuation of the  
hard times. Nor can this be restored  
before Socialism is inaugurated.

When politicians claim that the shops  
will be opened, and that the opening  
of the shops will enable the workers to  
spend money, i. e., buy necessities with  
the money they have earned, and in this  
way consume the stores of goods that  
are on hand, and creating a demand for  
more to be manufactured, they reveal  
their ignorance of the present economic  
system.

When I say that "the workers should  
receive the full equivalent of the pro-  
duct of their labor in order to be able to  
consume and create a continual de-  
mand," I take the workers as a class,  
and allow for the reproduction and im-  
provement of machinery and the plants,  
and for the distribution of the com-  
modities.

The wages of the workers of this  
country are 17 per cent. of the total re-  
tail price of their products; they can  
therefore not consume any more than  
their 17 per cent. exchange equivalent  
will buy; the buying of 17 cents' worth  
at the old store means the adding of 100  
cents' worth to the new or general  
store.

Under such conditions it is necessary  
that the remainder, amounting to 83 per  
cent. of the total product, be disposed  
of in some way. The most popular way  
to dispose of it is to find another market,  
but some goods decay, others are re-  
turned to the workers in consideration  
of the production of more new machin-  
ery, new railroads and new shops, while  
still others are consumed by an army of  
men that do no useful or no productive  
work, and they receive this portion of  
the remainder of the commodities from  
the capitalist class or capitalist govern-  
ment, in consideration of performing  
certain, to the capitalists, useful or  
pleasing services.

All of the above named functions, in-  
cluding the consumption of a part of the  
capitalists themselves, are working first  
rate, but the two main ones are coming  
to an undesired stoppage; they are de-  
creasing enormously; and now the  
whole army of political economists, i. e.,  
of the conservative hue, finds itself at  
sea and wonders why things are coming  
about just as the social science of the  
Socialists has predicted long ago.

The extension of the market into new,  
undeveloped or barbaric parts of the  
world for the products of capitalist in-  
dustry has stopped; international cap-  
italism prefers to build factories where  
labor is cheapest and freight can be  
saved.

The building of the means necessary  
to transport the goods to these markets,  
together with the machinery, shops and  
other buildings that this necessitates,  
and which formerly re-employed many  
of those thrown upon the street by the  
introduction of machinery, is very much  
a thing of the past also, unless improve-  
ments are made, which revolutionize  
railroad or steamboat transportation en-  
tirely.

Capitalists are forced—through com-  
petition and the struggle to survive—to  
cut the wages of labor still lower and to  
introduce more wage-saving machinery,  
in spite of the fact that the market is  
overstocked with goods. This means  
that they must curtail the consumptive  
power of labor still more.

It must now be clear that it is equal  
to wishing to fly to the moon, to be hop-  
ing for prosperity to return under the  
present system, unless something hap-  
pens to make all present non-producers  
increased consumers, and creates a

great demand for certain commodities.  
A world war, for instance, with mil-  
lions of men under arms, might do it.  
But this sort of prosperity would be of  
short duration.

Nor can government and municipal  
ownership, pure and simple, make any  
difference so long as the wages system  
is allowed to exist. The interest on bor-  
rowed capital, the rent for buildings and  
land, the profits pocketed by the em-  
ployers directly, and even the taxes, out  
of which capitalist politicians are paid,  
—all are deducted from the total value  
of the workers' products; the amount  
left is given to labor as wages, so that  
the workers may reproduce as much  
labor-power as the capitalists may need  
to satisfy the desires of his class.

Socialism is a state of society where  
the people own and operate the means  
of production and distribution collec-  
tively. Collective ownership and opera-  
tion of the means of production and dis-  
tribution bar out the opportunity to  
profit by the work of some one else.

Government ownership pure and simple  
necessitates the issuing of bonds, the  
interest on which, together with watch-  
dog politicians' salaries, must be de-  
ducted from the workers' returns. This  
allows some of the bondholders and  
their political hirelings to live upon the  
labor of others, just the same as before,  
and this destroys the equilibrium be-  
tween the consumptive power of labor  
and the total amount of products, leav-  
ing the present state of anarchistic pro-  
duction and distribution unimproved.  
This is not Socialism but State Capital-  
ism.

The difference between present cap-  
italism and "State capitalism" is this:  
While now the uncertainty for the in-  
dividual to retain or lose property ex-  
ists, and profit-making is not certain,  
except when the capitalists are taken as  
a class, under "State capitalism" the  
State—the whole capitalist class,  
through its representatives—takes upon  
herself the functions of guaranteeing  
the preservation of the capitalist's prop-  
erty and the payment of profits thereon.

It is to the interest of the matured  
capitalist class to inaugurate "State cap-  
italism," and it will try to inaugurate  
such a system just as soon as it becomes  
aware of the actual condition of so-  
ciety. On the other hand, however,  
hunger's goad in the workers' flanks  
will influence and encourage them to  
cut the last strings that bind their class  
to barbarism. The sufferings and misery  
of labor, and even of the middle class,  
during the last days of capitalism are  
the worst that the world has ever seen.  
The oppressive uncertainty of living  
forces everybody to take part in its ab-  
olition. Even if the attitude of the  
people has been one of doubt, neverthe-  
less they have been searching for light.  
The clouds are breaking, and clearness  
of aim is rapidly taking the place of  
confusion. Not philanthropy, but nec-  
essity and self interest on the side of  
the largest, most numerous, class forces  
revolutions. The inauguration of So-  
cialism implies a social revolution.

M. MEYER.

## GRAPHIC.

**Importance of the Principle of the Class  
Struggle Illustrated.**

Philadelphia, Feb. 14.—The following  
occurrence should help to enlighten the  
workers in picking their way across the  
tangled field of politics:

This is a fresh and interesting in-  
stance of how the "workers are worked."  
A finely dressed gentleman called at the  
office of Cigarmaker's Union No. 100 on  
Monday. The kid-gloved gentleman  
asked when and where the House Paint-  
ers' Union meets, he was informed that  
the painters and decorators meet every  
Wednesday evening in the hall adjoining  
the office. "Well," said the gentle-  
man, "that is what I am in search of.  
I am a house painter, I do not belong  
to the union. I am sorry I never was a  
member, but I want to join just as soon  
as possible. I am going to do all I can  
to get the people to join in my end of  
the town. I think us working people  
should all get together at once and see  
if we cannot do something for ourselves.  
I think the union is a splendid institu-  
tion and all workmen should belong  
to it."

His auditors were interested and  
much gratified to hear the new convert  
wax warm on the theme of thorough  
organization.

He said: "I will surely be a member  
on Wednesday," then producing a card  
he continued, "by the way, friends, I  
am a candidate for — in the —  
Ward, and I think the organized work-  
ing men could and will advertise my  
candidacy and introduce me to our  
friends in my Ward, as us workmen  
must all stand together if we expect to  
get anything."

This announcement was received in  
such manner that it is believed the  
thermometer in the next block fell sev-  
eral degrees, and the gentleman imme-  
diately left the office, it is presumed, to  
get warm.

The card left in the office informs the  
dear workmen that this gentleman  
is a candidate for Common Council on  
the Democratic ticket and next Tuesday  
is election.

J. M. B.

The papers announce under the ap-  
propriate heading of "Flower's Bon-  
anza," that Harry Folger, the secretary  
of the banker Roswell P. Flower, dis-  
covered by accident a rich deposit of  
gold in Canada; and they add that the  
two "will work the mine themselves."  
They will own it, and will work the  
workers, would be correcter, and pres-  
ently each will try to squeeze the other,  
as capitalists are accustomed to do.

The receipt of a sample copy of this  
paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## OPEN LETTERS.

**Addressed to the United States  
"Patriots."**

## No. 1—TO THE POLITICIAN.

Patriotism is not Love for the Physical  
Soll. It is Love for all its Inhabitants.  
—The Politician is so Strongly At-  
tached to the Soll that he Seeks to  
get out of it all he can for Himself,  
Though the People Decline and Perish.

Dear Mr. Politician—In the process of  
evolution, which has led us up to our  
present social condition, I do not blame  
you for any misconception that may  
have crept into the inner chambers of  
your head as to the meaning of the word  
patriot. Neither do I intend to jump at  
the conclusion that you are a patriot.  
I prefer to analyze you, and let the  
people find out for themselves just  
where you are at. Should they discover  
that you are a patriot, in the true sense  
of the word, I wish you God-speed, be-  
cause you are in the noble occupation  
of guiding the destinies of a great  
people. But should they discover that  
you are not a patriot in the true sense  
of the word; then I shall conclude that  
you are a traitor to your fellow men, a  
hypocrite and a self-seeking trickster,  
and say: "The devil take you; you are a  
hindrance to social progress; a parasite  
on society, and not only a worthless,  
but a harmful fellow."

What is patriotism? The generally  
accepted meaning of the word is love of  
one's country. Now, here is where we  
want to get at you. What is one's  
country? If the land, mines, railroads,  
buildings and machinery are one's  
country, and you stop at this concep-  
tion of it, then, Mr. Politician, I believe  
you love it with all your heart; that you  
really try to get all you can out of it;  
that what you do get you hang on to for  
dear life; that you would even go so far  
as to have all the patriotic warships in  
the land join the militia or regular  
army and at not one another down at  
your bidding, like so



"Six Centuries of Work and Wages."—By J. E. Thorold Rogers  
.....  
"Quintessence of Socialism."—By Dr. A. Schaeffle  
.....  
"Reform or Revolution."—By Dan-



# SOCIALISM.

Address Delivered Before the Present Day Club of Dayton, O.

By William Watkins.

Gentlemen of the Present Day Club—The era in which we are living will prove to be one of the shortest in human history. It began but a hundred and sixty years ago; so to speak, but yesterday, and the end is already in sight. It is an era characterized by the most tremendous revolution the world has ever known, and this revolution went on during a hundred years before its scope and character were suspected, and even now, when it has nearly run its course, most people do not know that anything in particular has happened; they are still living in the eighteenth century. Swedenborg found some who had been dead a hundred years, and had not found it out yet. The man who is absorbed in his own selfish plans, who is using society only to advance his private fortune, is dead to all social movements and may live through a revolution and not know it.

It is no wonder that the revolution had to wait so long for an explanation; its newness, its immense scope, its course slow at first, its increasing speed and momentum, and the fact that for the first hundred years of its course, the science of sociology was unknown, will account for the fact the world at large fails to understand it.

**THE GREAT REVOLUTION** of which we speak is a revolution in the field of economics—in the production of what we eat, drink, wear and use. It hence affects the whole population of the countries where it is going on. It affects the foundation upon which rests the whole superstructure of human life. Until his animal wants are supplied, until man is supplied with food, clothing and shelter, he will live the life and show the character of a beast; it is vain to look for the development of human character and virtue. The social condition of a people can be traced to their economic state; the form of government and structure of society depends upon it. A change in methods of production will be followed by a change in social state, and this cannot fail to affect the government and the structure of society.

Our present state is not a finality. Evolution has not operated up to the present and then stopped, but is still working. The situation changes from day to day. Other forms of society have risen, run their course and passed away; ours will have a like history.

The history of the great economic revolution must be briefly traced.

**THE EARLIEST FORM OF PRODUCTION** was solitary and individual. One man, working alone, did every part of the work. The mechanic owned his tools, worked alone, made articles to order, and received the full product of his labor without dividing with anyone. If he employed "help" he employed another man, also a master of his trade, and in the very nature of things the employer was compelled to pay the employee wages which were, on the whole, equal to what the latter could earn by practicing the trade independently. All, or nearly all, the trades required the strength of a man, and all required the skill which was gained by long apprenticeship. The necessity of the skill prevented the competition of unskilled labor of every kind, and the necessity of considerable muscular strength made the employment of women and children in the trades impracticable. Thus the mechanic was protected from the competition of outsiders.

After studying and reflecting upon this state of things, Adam Smith, the father of political economy, formulated his celebrated law of wages, which is that wages can never fall below the amount necessary to the support of a family. This law applies perfectly to the conditions of small production just described, but has no reference or application to other conditions. The era in which this was the only form of production lasted uncounted ages, and it continued to be the only method down to about the middle of the sixteenth century. During all this time all social conditions corresponded to and grew out of this state of things. The mode of production was slow, costly and laborious. The people were ignorant, rude and poor. A few were rich, but there were no capitalists.

**THE PERIOD OF MANUFACTURES** followed, by which is meant the production of articles by hand labor associated and divided, the division of labor without the use of machinery. A number of men worked together, each doing a part of the work necessary to produce the finished article, and thus accomplished much more than could be accomplished by each working separately. An enterprising mechanic would take a shop, employ a number of journeymen, assign to each the part of the work which he liked best and could do best, could pay each man as much as he could earn by the independent practice of his trade and still receive a considerable profit from the extra amount of work turned out.

Here a new principle was introduced into the industrial world. Up to that time there had been no gain in production except by personal toil. But by this scheme the master receives a value created by others, and this is done by organizing labor by making it social and interdependent. This is the small end of the wedge which in later times split economic society into the two, now widely separated, classes of employer and employee. This plan began the process of reducing the independent to economic dependence, that is, to slavery.

The employees in these shops practiced but a part of the trade, which it had cost them years to learn, and that part could be learned in much less time than the whole trade. The place of any of these journeymen could be supplied by a boy of say 16, who could learn the part assigned to him in a few days, weeks, or months at most, and who, until he reached the age of 21, would be delighted to receive half man's wages.

This form of production appeared in what the geologist would call the eocene period, the dawn of the present, when the forces which have formed our present society were mustering their strength and overcoming various obstacles necessary to be removed in order that society might develop into its present form.

It should be noted that these ages are not sharply defined periods. The age of small productions is the age when it was the only form of production, and by the age of manufactures we mean the age when division of labor began to be an important factor in production. Both still exist to-day, but have sunk into insignificance.

## THE AGE OF CAPITALISTIC PRODUCTION.

The great industrial revolution which brought in the age of capitalistic production is the result of a series of inventions beginning about the middle of the eighteenth century, by which such marked effects have been produced that the economic world of to-day is farther removed from that of 1750 than that of 1750 is from the age of the Pharaohs. Changes in capital and its management have produced the most significant changes in labor. Capital, taking advantage of the inventions in industry and in transportation, has been able to extend production and carry it on in an ever increasing ratio. This production on a vast scale, based upon a far-reaching division of labor, has become essentially social. Capitalism has passed out of the shop and entered the factory. The master workman of yore has given place to the "captain of industry," journeymen and apprentices to regiments of wage-workers. Production becomes every day more socialized. Of old, the workman owned his tools; now the capitalist owns the machine. The master and the journeyman worked together, but the modern employer does not know the employee by sight or name. Then the journeyman could hope to become a master, but now the factory worker cannot hope to become a factory owner.

## MONOPOLY.

We have seen that in former ages all the mechanic arts were open to the youth who had nothing but his hands. No capital was needed; he had simply to serve an apprenticeship, to learn the trade, and he was assured that his skill and industry would procure him a living. Now, whoever would enter into the business of production must be possessed of an ample capital. Only a few are rich enough to build and equip a factory with modern machinery, and those who do so are seeking, not a living, but wealth, measured not by ten thousands, but by millions. In the age of small production the producer was his own employer, and all the value added to the raw material by his labor was his; now he is a wage-worker, and must accept his employer's terms. His wages are fixed by the law of supply and demand; the more men offer their labor power for sale the lower the wages. His power to labor—his life—has become a commodity, and is the cheapest thing in the market.

He is unable to trace his part in the manufactured article, is in the dark as to its value, and quite in the power of his employer. For his work he is allowed only about one-fourth of the value produced. If a thousand dollars' worth of raw material is worked up into manufactured products worth five thousand dollars, that is, if four thousand dollars of value has been produced by the process of manufacture, then one thousand dollars of that four thousand is the share of labor, the wages paid, and three thousand the share of capital. The laborer does the work and the capitalist takes the lion's share of the product. We now see where the great fortunes amassed in manufacturing come from. They are composed of unpaid labor. We are not now concerned with the right and wrong of this course, though that is well worth considering, but only with its economic effects. To the capitalist who says that he does so because he cannot help it, we reply: "Good sir, you take our capitalistic system for a scheme by which you can gain unearned money; you mistake it; it is a scheme as much against you as against the wage-worker; you know that you are in danger of losing your capital, but you don't know that you must lose it; there is no other way; your capital must become a part of some larger competing capital, and that of some still larger one, until all is concentrated in a very few hands. Take ten years and see it."

**THE EFFECT OF THE ONE TO THREE SYSTEM.** The division of the product of labor, one-fourth to the worker and three-fourths to the capitalist, is fatal to the capitalistic system itself, and produces the very state of things under which we now suffer. The manufacturer does not make goods for his own use and enjoyment, but for sale. He must have a market for his wares; anything that destroys his market breaks him. The wage-workers of the United States form a majority of the population, and are daily increasing in numbers by accretions from the middle class, who find independent existence impossible. Now, if the wage-working class receives, as the census of 1890 shows, only one-fourth of the value added to the raw material for their labor, it is plain that they as a class can buy not more than one-fourth of that which is produced. But they cannot do that, for the manufacturer adds to the cost of the raw material, and the jobber, the wholesaler and the retailer must have their profits before the wage-worker can buy any manufactured article. Then, too, the wage-worker has to buy a number of things which are not manufactured articles, thus diminishing the amount he can spend for manufactures. We see, then, that more than one-half the nation can absorb only from one-tenth to one-eighth of what is made. The remainder of the nation, impoverished, by a great degree by the poverty of the wage-workers, cannot absorb the other seven-eighths, or nine-tenths, of the goods produced, and hence we see the market glutted with goods, that staple articles used and needed by the mass of the people are offered at less than cost of production. Merchants become bankrupt, mills and factories shut down, banks fail, capital to the amount of millions is lost, and does not return to the people, but is absorbed in larger capital; millions are thrown out of work; misery, vice and crime prevail in the land.

## OUR SYSTEM IMPOVERISHES THE MASSES

and holds before the capitalist the hope of immense gain which, in most cases, proves illusory.

## THE WAGE-WORKER NOT PROTECTED.

The introduction of modern machinery, driven by steam or water power, has taken the place both of the muscular strength and of the skill of eye and hand, which used to be necessary in production, and hence has opened competition in manufacturing processes to the whole world. Labor that can be used in production is in permanent over-supply. The time can never come when all who desire work can obtain it unless a reduction of the hours of labor should be made to that degree that all could be employed, which would probably reduce the hours to four or five per day, and this can never be done while the machinery of production is in private hands and is run for private profit. But it can be done easily and at once as soon as the instruments of production are in the hands of the public, and articles are made for use and not for sale.

Labor-saving machinery saves labor; it does the same work with one-fifth, one-tenth, one-hundredth or one-thousandth the number of workers. It makes men unnecessary; it takes away the source of their living. These facts were disputed by the writers of sixty years ago, but they are now beyond all question. The world's work is done by a continually decreasing number of persons. There is not work enough to go around. The man who is willing and anxious to work is not allowed to do so. This is a wrong—a gigantic wrong, and under this system is utterly without remedy. To right this wrong we must have a change in the structure of society.

## MACHINERY.

We see the evil effects which follow the employment of machinery under our present system; but this is not why we oppose the machinery itself, but because machinery is owned by private individuals and used for private advantage. No one so fully appreciates the value and nature of labor-saving machinery as does the Socialist. It has in it the power and potency of the greatest blessing to mankind. Hitherto it has never lightened the toll of any human being, but it is destined to be that which shall lighten human toil and give to man a chance to live a human life.

We note that the benefits of the machine come to the owner. This is the key to the situation. If society would reap the benefits of a machine it must own and work that machine; there is no other way.

## SOCIALISM AND SOCIALISTS.

Socialism is not the system, plan or scheme of any reformer, whether philosopher or crank. It is the doctrine of those who see forces at work in our system which cannot be controlled, and which will inevitably destroy the system itself. The Socialist claims that it is necessary that the public should own and operate the means of production and distribution; that is to say, the shops, factories, railroads, mines and lands, and operate these for the public benefit. He claims that the most important of all rights—the right to life and the right to support life by labor—are not recognized; that the disorders of our system are caused by the fact that these rights are not recognized, and that in the near future their recognition will be a political necessity.

Your Socialist is not a sorehead, he kicks not, he grumbles not whatever happens. He is an evolutionist; he believes that evolution evolves, that it does not stop. All men and all things are working together to bring about the co-operative commonwealth, those who oppose it most hasten it most. All systems, all political events are necessary steps in the evolution of Socialism. The Socialist rejoices in the election of McKinley to attempt the impossible, but he would have been equally well satisfied with Bryan, under whom we would have reached the same goal by a slightly different course.

The capitalist system is filling the world with sin, vice, crime, poverty, insanity and premature death, but all these are necessary to open our eyes to the necessity of change. The reason why we have not already changed is that the class which knows of these evils and feels them is not the class which has possession of the political power. The change will come all the same; will come as certainly as to-morrow's sun, nothing can stop it, and nothing but a return of general prosperity can stay it, and the prophecy may be risked that the child is born that will see, at least, its beginning.

## S. L. P.

### Gives John Wamaker Another Thorough Drubbing.

Sir—I presume that you are cognizant of the attempt about to be made by certain citizens of Philadelphia to purify local politics. Is it not wonderful, the amount of purification that our politics—local and national—require? The memory of the oldest inhabitant goes not back to the time when "reform" of some kind or other was not demanded by certain political elements. Ever louder grows the cry for a "change." The more "reform" our political system has undergone, the more is demanded. What is the nature of this ailment of the body politic which everyone admits, requires treatment, but which up to the present time has not yielded to any of the efforts put forth to eradicate it? A glance at a single symptom will show its real character to any sensible man.

And here is the symptom, as diagnosed by that reliable political doctor, Colonel A. K. McClure, editor of the Philadelphia "Times":

"Our whole election system has become so utterly debauched that elections are simply farcical. There has not been a contested election in this city during the last five years that has not embraced in its returns tens of thousands of fraudulent votes. Under the leadership of Lobbyist Martin, who was early trained in the worst attributes of the ballot-thief, our elections have become more and more lawless with each year, until to-day they are simply monumental in the mastery of fraud."

This indictment, you will kindly note, lies against the City of Brotherly Love, where the Declaration of Independence was signed and where the Liberty Bell is situated, not against the town of Red Dog, Idaho.

The indictment is strictly true, and might, with a change of name, with equal truthfulness have been written of almost any large city in this country.

All the schemes of "reform" that I have memory of were directed against this debauchery of elections, but no scheme of reform that I ever heard of proposed to go to the root of the matter and discover the real cause of the evil. Loud demands for the arrest and conviction of the petty criminals have frequently been made, but I have never heard of any of the able editors of our great journals calling for an inquiry into the reasons why our elections are tampered with, or asking for the names of the persons in whose interest the dirty work was done, or instituting a search for the people who foot the bills for the "work" performed.

This is what would be done were there any honesty or sincerity in these multitudinous "reform" movements, and because it has never been done I have not hesitated to characterize them all as being as fraudulent as the elections they pretended to purify. Doubtless many of the people who engage in these movements were honest enough, but ignorance of the real nature of the wrongs complained of have led many to enter upon reform work who quietly gave way when they had a look behind the curtain. The reform of our political system will not be accomplished, and cannot be accomplished, by those who are not willing to accept the facts, and all the facts, in relation to this universal debauchery of the ballot.

Before I go further in this matter, permit me to point out a fact or two involved. The ballot is supposed to be the basis of government in this country; the rock upon which all our institutions rest; the safe-guard of our liberties, and the highest expression of our rights. Whoever tampers with the ballot is an enemy of the people and a traitor to the country; the foe of safety, or order, and of Democracy. The treason of Benedict Arnold was insignificant in comparison with such a crime as the continual corruption of our elections.

Another fact: Whenever there is a great strike, or any labor disturbance affecting the serenity of the great Capitalists of the country, our press and pulpit are tireless in declaring the people themselves responsible for whatever they may complain of. "You have the ballot; use it," yells the Capitalist press in chorus; "This is a government of law!" cries the same editor who a few weeks before had declared that elections were "simply farcical."

If our elections are influenced by corrupt practices, the people haven't the ballot. If our elections are controlled by ballot-box stuffers and thieves, and their political masters, then this government is a government of thieves, and not a "government of law." It is simply a government by Martin et al.

Democracy is worth everything, or it is worth nothing. If the American people are to go forward to a higher civilization—indeed, if they are not to go backward to chattel slavery—this matter of government by Martin et al. must be submitted to critical and merciless analysis. Who is responsible for this monstrous crime against Republican government? Not the Martins! They are merely tools. The continued immunity of the Martins, and the light punishment meted out to those whom a passing wave of "reform" may demand the sacrifice of (only to be pardoned out when the wave subsides), proves that the real criminals must be looked for elsewhere.

In a case of burglary or highway robbery, the first thing to do is to locate possession of the stolen goods. This line of procedure, in the case of our stolen ballots, will show who are responsible for the crimes that are continually committed against the integrity of our elections.

Who owns the goods that have been stolen and are being continually stolen from the people? Let David Martin himself answer: "I am not responsible for this thing," said that individual, speaking of a certain political job. "The fact is that I am employed by a certain

corporation at a large salary, and the interests of the corporation compel me to act as I have."

Here we discover the whereabouts of our stolen goods, Mr. Wamaker: With this clue every crime, every ballot thief, may be unerringly traced. Our Council, full of Traction councilmen, though the people hate Traction with a deadly hatred; our Legislature full of corporation legislators, though the people are bitterly, but as yet blindly, opposed to corporations; our Congress full of corporation attorneys, though elected to guard the people against corporate crime and greed—show in their character, person and work the real cause of the pollution of the ballot.

The ballot may be corrupted in an infinite number of ways; merely miscounting or throwing out votes are among the least of them. The multiplication of needless political offices, for the purpose of creating a hireling political army; the gerrymandering of election districts at the behest of certain corporate or "business" interests; lobbying (bribery) in legislation; the passage of laws by false representation and stealth; the gradual restriction of the franchise under one pretence and another; the stealthy encroachment by the judiciary upon the legislative power, and, above all, the use of power to compel the people to vote under dictation, are as much prostitutions of the ballot-box as is the counting of fictitious votes.

All these crimes against the ballot have been committed for years by the "business interests" of the country. The money paid for corrupt legislation and the support of lobbies has all been supplied by our "business interests," or, to be precise, by our "business men." The politics and legislation of the country have been dictated by our "business interests" exclusively. The laws and the Constitution have been interpreted with an eye single to the interests of business. Our business interests having in all things been paramount, are directly responsible for every organic evil that afflicts the American people to-day, and the responsibility cannot be evaded. All work of "reform" that leaves untouched the "business" interests of the country is absolutely worthless. Driven by inexorable fate, the logic of events will leave no choice other than sinking all human rights in our business interests, or else sinking all business interests in the rights of the people. This, the only possible reform, will never be accomplished by those who have a stake in Capitalism. It will be carried out only by those who know and feel that they are the victims of our "business interests"; by those who know and teach that the Republican form of government bequeathed to us by our fathers has been undermined and well-nigh destroyed by a traitor class; by those who have discovered the impossibility of being at one and the same time a free citizen and a slave workman. The free laborer is the father, not the son, of the free citizen.

S. L. P.

Philadelphia, Feb. 17.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### The Shadow of the Bradley Martin Ball and Seelye Dinner in Massachusetts.

Lawrence has had the name of being one of the most prosperous cities in New England, if not in the country. Let us look at the prosperity of our city. Let me quote a few remarks from one of our papers:

"There is more want and privation in Lawrence to-day than there has been for years; perhaps more than there has ever been before. Continued business depression and the consequent reduction in wage-money have brought many families face to face with cold and hunger. The poor-farm is over-taxed, and charitable organizations are doing all they can."

Look at the wages that able-bodied men are receiving—from \$2.50 to \$5 a week; some are expected to support a family on such wages. Now, listen to city missionaries' reasons why there is so much poverty. One is that the mills can select the best workmen—the best in health and habits; heretofore a man could get a job by presenting himself at the gate, as sickness and discharge were making continual vacancies; the situation is now changed, there is much less work at much less pay. The missionary should have said: "Much more work and ever so much less pay." So you see it is the same old story: new machinery displacing labor. Some have not worked in six or eight months since a new machine has been put in the dye-house of the Pacific Mills; it does the work of seventy men; the new Northrup loom will throw hundreds out soon, as they are going to put some in soon. But the majority expect everything will be all right when we get a new tariff bill. Others tell you it is over-production; the market is over-stocked, and they are shivering for want of a decent suit of clothes or an overcoat, and they really believe it is so. Truly it has been said: "What fools we mortals be!"

J. W. L.

Lawrence, Mass., Feb. 15.

### Prog. Clothing Cutters and Trimmers.

At the last session of the above union, held on Thursday, Feb. 11, at our rooms, 64 East 4th street, communications from D. A. 49 and Comrade H. B. Salisbury were received. The Agitation Committee reported having secured Comrade Salisbury to lecture on "Labor's Share and How to Get It," at our next agitation meeting, Feb. 25, Thursday, at the above place. The committee to the tailoring council reported that the Brooklyn United Brotherhood of Tailors held a successful mass meeting, in spite of the continued interruption of the fakers from the U. T. W. of A. Three reports were received. After the routine business had been concluded, a general discussion followed on the merits of the system cutting club for members only. All members wishing to advance in the art of cutting are urgently requested to join this club. The Agitation Committee is instructed to invite all workmen, whether of the progressive or retrogressive element, to our lecture meetings, and we wish to announce that no person will be thrown out of such meetings. Questions as well as criticism will be permitted to all present.

THE SECRETARY.

## PARTY NEWS.

### Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

**National Executive.**  
Regular meeting held Feb. 16, 1897: Comrade Reed in the chair; minutes of the previous meeting read and approved. Communications read from Baltimore, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis and San Francisco.  
C. B. COPP, Rec. Secy.

**California.**  
Financial Report of California State Executive Committee for the month of January, 1897:

**INCOME.**  
Brought forward from Dec. 27, 1896; balance on hand.....\$25 30  
Dec. 27, 1897—15 due stamps, secretary, Sacramento..... 1 50  
Jan. 11, 1897—50 due stamps, secretary, City Central Committee..... 5 00  
Jan. 18—50 due stamps, City Central Committee..... 5 00  
Jan. 18—10 due stamps, Section Benky..... 1 00  
Total income.....\$37 80

**EXPENSES.**  
Dec. 27, 1896—To G. B. Benham, 1,000 cards.....\$3 30  
Jan. 11, 1897—To Mrs. McCullough, type-writing..... 3 00  
Jan. 11—To E. Hecht, secretary, postage..... 60  
Jan. 11—To G. B. Benham, literature, Section Stockton..... 2 70  
Jan. 11—To National Ex. Comm., for 200 stamps..... 10 00  
Jan. 18—To E. Hecht for postage..... 35  
Jan. 18—To G. B. Benham, per Wells Fargo Company..... 1 00  
Jan. 18—To agitation for Section Benky..... 60  
Jan. 18—To Comrade Wilkins, as per agreement..... 10 00  
Total expenses.....\$32 15  
Cash on hand Jan. 31, 1897.....\$5 65

**STAMP ACCOUNT.**  
Dec. 27—On hand..... 196  
Sold during January..... 125  
Balance..... 71  
Received from N. E. C..... 290

On hand February 1, 1897..... 371  
H. F. SAHLINDER, Treas.,  
Cal. State Ex. Com.

**Massachusetts.**  
BOSTON, Feb. 7.—The American Section held its regular monthly meeting at No. 45 Elliot street Monday night. A communication was received from the State Committee in reply to the order adopted by the Section last month in regard to a paper called "Massachusetts Labor." The following was adopted:

**RESOLVED,** That the State Committee be, and it is hereby, requested to communicate with the publishers of a paper purporting to be a Massachusetts Socialist paper published at Cave Mills, Tennessee, and called "Massachusetts Labor," and request the publisher of said paper to discontinue sending it into this State.

As "Massachusetts Labor" is neither edited or managed by Massachusetts Socialists or by Socialist organizations in the State, it is clearly an imposition on Socialists here, and a fraud upon the public to longer continue to circulate this paper, which is plainly a "fake" publication.

That in the event of the publisher refusing to discontinue sending it here, it is recommended to the State Committee to call the attention of the Post Office Department to the fact that it is not a bona fide Massachusetts paper; that we protest against any member of the State Committee acting as an agent of this paper."

On the first column of the issue of Jan. 30, 1897, appears the following:

**MASSACHUSETTS LABOR.**

**THE JOURNAL OF ORGANIZED LABOR.**

Published every Saturday by the Labor Newspaper Union.

Albert E. Sanderson, general manager, Ruskin, Cave Mills, Tenn.; Local Managers—C. Crossfield, Boston; J. Friedland, Dorchester; Mary Gunning, Waltham; Fred Hodecker, Adams; Herm. Koepke, Pittsfield; Herman Klisen, Fitchburg; W. O'Nease, New Bedford.

On the first column of the second page the words "Our Press" appear in large letters at the top of the column; immediately below is inscribed on a flag the words "Socialist Labor Party." The paper is not dated at any place, and it is only because the law requires that a paper must print the name of the post office it is entered at that we have any knowledge as to where it comes from, unless it might be inferred that it was printed at the place where the general manager received his mail, though a paper that was at once the "journal of organized labor" of Massachusetts and an organ of the Socialist Labor party might send its "general manager" into the woods of Tennessee for his health.

A number of those who are down as "local managers" say they have never been consulted, and that their names have been used without their knowledge or consent. All the local "managers" do, however, is to manage to get a subscriber when it is possible. Their duties as managers end there.

The paper is not a Massachusetts publication, and as the resolutions adopted by the Section say it is an imposition on Socialism here to father them with it; one objects to have a child fathered on him when it belongs to some one else, whatever its quality; but it is doubly painful when it is a black bastard.

The statement in the resolution that it is a fraud upon the public to pretend that this is a Massachusetts Socialist paper is true.

Of course any Socialist can start a paper, but he may not palm it off on another. The following appeared in "Massachusetts Labor" as an editorial two weeks ago:

"The Socialist Labor party movement contains some selfish, narrow-minded individuals of the 'rule or ruin' order. All propaganda, unless suggested, dictated or controlled by them is mercilessly condemned. These vermin have no true place in our movement, and all Sections cursed by their presence should lose no time in ridding themselves of them. The principles of scientific Socialism are thoroughly understood by the rank and file of our Section, and these alone should be our guide."

So long as the paper is fathered on us



## THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to February 17th, 1897.

\$3,650.

At the meeting of the Daily People Committee, held Sunday, the 20th of December, 1896, an important step was taken from which, if a daily Socialist

paper is at all possible within a reasonable time, the consummation will be reached. The committee adopted the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, A daily PEOPLE has become an absolute necessity to counteract the false and falsified "news" that the capitalist press sets afloat, and to spread enlightenment in the ranks of the working class upon the Labor Question, and to prepare it to deal intelligently with the Social Revolution that is inevitable and is impending;

WHEREAS, The urgency of such a weapon of political and economic warfare in the English language against the plundering class of the capitalist is felt with increasing force, and the demand therefor becomes stronger by the day;

WHEREAS, The undertaking would result disastrously if not successfully put through;

WHEREAS, To make success certain, the paper must be able to survive two consecutive campaigns, that is to say, must appear daily during the period of at least thirteen consecutive months, absolutely independent, firm and uncompromising;

WHEREAS, The sum of not less than \$50,000 in hand is necessary to safely launch such an undertaking;

WHEREAS, Despite the general sense of the necessity of a daily English organ of labor, the collections for it have hitherto been slight; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that, so long as the foundation of such a paper seems indefinitely distant, the contributions will continue slight, while, on the contrary, if its foundation can appear prompt and definite it is likely that ample funds could be promptly gathered; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a call be issued to the stalwarts, friends and sympathizers, to pledge themselves in the number of 5,000 to contribute each the sum of \$10, payable between the issuing of this call and the 1st day of September, 1897;

RESOLVED, That, if by that date the sum of not less than \$50,000 is cash in hands of the DAILY PEOPLE Committee, a DAILY PEOPLE be started forthwith on October 1st, 1897;

RESOLVED, That this call be printed in the party press of all languages; that subscription lists, headed with these resolutions, be issued to all the Sections and all applicants; and that the names of the subscribers, together with the sum subscribed by each and the installments in which the same is to be paid, be promptly notified to the Committee for publication from week to week.

Are there in the land 5,000 stalwarts equal to the emergency, ready to step up and to mount that needed and redoubtable battery of the Social Revolution in America—a DAILY PEOPLE?

Daily People Committee,

184 William St.,

N. Y. City.

J. Chernoff, N. Y.	\$10	payable \$1.50 a month from February 15.
Morris Steinberg, N. Y.	10	" \$1.50 a month from February 15.
W. R. Taylor, Brooklyn	10	" June 5.
Harriet Brackett, Berlin University, Germ.	10	" Cash.
Simon Fried, Hartford, Ct.	10	" \$1.00 a month from March 1, \$4.00 Sept. 1.
Joseph Dwyer, Brooklyn	10	" \$2.00 a month from April 1.
E. E. Etzel, Cleveland	10	" August 1.
A. Simonet, Cleveland	20	" \$1 Cash, \$2 a month from Feb. 1, \$5 Sept. 1.
Robert Barthels, Cleveland	10	" May 15.
J. H. Forster, Cleveland	10	" \$2.00 June 1, \$3.00 August 1.
Henry Schmeidler, Cleveland	10	" On demand.
P. C. Christiansen, Cleveland	10	" \$2.00 Cash, \$5.00 July 1.
H. G. Hassler, Detroit	10	" Cash.
Max Therman, N. Y.	10	" \$2.00 July 1, \$5.00 August 1.
Bruno Thome, Brooklyn	10	" \$1.00 a month from February 1, \$4 Sept. 1.
Alex Krueger, Lithfield, Neb.	10	" August 15.
Section Adams, Mass.	20	" May 1.
Amor, Hirsch, Section San Francisco, Cal.	10	" Cash.
Conrad Kerner, Boston	10	" August 1.
L. Rental, N. Y.	10	" \$5.00 July 1, \$5.00 Sept. 1.
William Black, N. Y.	10	" \$5.00 June 1, \$5.00 July 5.
Total this week	\$230	

The \$5 credited to P. C. Christiansen, Cleveland, Ohio, in last week's report of payments should be credited to A. Behner, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.

184 William St., N. Y.

## PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1.

(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Delegate M. Kronimus, of the United Journeymen Tailors' Union was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation (D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A.), and delegate H. Finklestein, of the Carl Salm Club, was vice-chairman.

Ale and Porter Union No. 1 reported having resolved to attend the "Arbeiter Zeitung" Festival this Saturday in a body, with the flag, at the Grand Central Palace.

Independent Bakers' Union No. 1 reported having voted for F. W. Wilson as member to the G. E. B., and Boston, Mass., for the next convention of the S. T. & L. A. The union also decided to furnish a large and handsome cake for the "Arbeiter Zeitung" festival, which is to be raffled for its benefit.

Independent Bakers' Union No. 2 reported that boss Leopold sent for union labels on Saturday. Their Executive Board suspended br. 3 as the same owes br. 2 and the National Alliance dues for a year.

Furriers' Union reported having held a well attended meeting on Saturday. A committee from the C. L. F. was present, urging that the festival of the "Motte" be postponed to Saturday, be postponed on account of the "Arbeiter Zeitung" festival. The union promised to use its influence in this matter. This union voted for Lawrence Fischer, of the C. L. F., Newark, as member of the G. E. B., and for Newark, N. J., as the place for the convention of the S. T. & L. A.

Walters' Alliance Liberty reported that two members had applied for readmission. By a large majority it was decided to impose a fine of \$10 each, and both must pay the back dues and assessments.

Empire City Lodge Machinists reported gaining many members. They voted for Lawrence Fischer as member of the G. E. B. and for Boston, Mass., for the convention. The union will attend the "Arbeiter Zeitung" festival this Saturday in a body. An advertisement was given the Journal of the Progressive Workmen of North New York.

A spirited debate ensued on the subject of the tactics so long pursued by the C. L. F. Delegates of the Ale and Porter No. 1, Empire City Lodge, Furriers, Silver Workers, P. A. Int. Piano-makers, etc., participated.

The committee which visited ind.

Bakers' No. 3 reported that its secretary never read the written report sent by the C. L. F. weekly. They claimed that the Sick and Death Benefit Club was organized independent of the union. They informed the committee that they would in future only support their own members. Their principles now were to attend only to the wants of the unemployed, and create a large fund for them. The chairman of the meeting declared "that No. 3 was still in existence, and would send delegates if such could be found, but no more dues would be paid to anybody."

Silver Workers P. A. reported having gained eleven members. Some minor trouble exists at the Whiting Manufacturing Co.

It was resolved to instruct Ind. Bakers' No. 1 and 2 to prefer charges against No. 3 by next Sunday, so that the C. L. F. can take proper action.

It was also resolved that the delegates of the C. L. F. assemble this Saturday at the Grand Central Palace at 9 p. m., in the hall to the right, for the purpose of attending the "Arbeiter Zeitung" festival in a body. Badges will be distributed.

The "Journal" of the Prog. Workmen of North New York was given an advertisement by the C. L. F.

The corresponding secretary was instructed to in future note the absent organizations, and then notify the Organization Committee.

Delegates J. B. Clayton and Ernest Bohm were elected a special committee to attend a meeting of the Women's Infant Cloakmakers' Union.

A debate ensued as to the latest published statistics of the "State Bureau of Labor," which gave very flattering averages, and a document showing the actual average was presented in opposition. Action thereon was deferred for one week.

Relative to a joint meeting of D. A. No. 1, 2 and 49 once a month, decision was reserved until next Sunday.

For an Italian Paper.

All Comrades and sympathizers who realize the importance of upholding a Socialist paper in the Italian language in this country are requested to send contributions and subscriptions to Comrade C. F. Garzone, 14 Varick place, New York City. Send at least a nickel. "Il Proletario" needs assistance. To discontinue its valuable work would be a serious setback to the movement among the Italian wage earners.

FERNER'S ART GALLERY, 101 West 14th St.

PHOTOGRAPHER.

Photos taken in a style. Every picture taken at Ferner's is a work of art. Special low rates for Organizations, Singing Societies and orders of "THE PEOPLE" who show this ad.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY  
—OF THE—  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

## PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-affirms the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

## RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.
6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.
7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.
8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.
9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.
12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.
15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.
17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.
18. Municipal self-government.
19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.
20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

## Grand Labor Festival

—18—

Grand Central Palace,

Lexington Av., betw. 43d &amp; 44th Sts.

MONDAY,

February 22nd, 1897.

(Washington's Birthday)

arranged by the

Volkszeitungs Konferenz,

New York.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE

LABOR PRESS.

Concert, Living Pictures, Singing,

Athletic Performances, Grand Ball,

Appearance of the

World-renowned,

Imperial Japanese Troupe of

Osaka, Japan,

Acrobats, Jugglers, Wire

performers.

TICKETS.....15 Cents.

for sale in all meetings of the different

Assembly District Organizations, 134

William St., Labor Lyceum, 64 E. 4th St.,

West Side Labor Lyceum, 342 W. 42d

St., and Clubhouse of the Workmen

Educational Association, 30 E. 50th St.

## JOHN OEHLE, Steam Printing

87 Frankfort Street 87

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Orders will be taken at 116 East 9th Street, betw.

Avenue A and First Avenue, New York City. 141

I. Goldman's Printing Office,

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works with Type Setting Machines

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121 BERMERHORN ST., BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Furniture, Carpets, Rugs, etc.,

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649-655 Willoughby Ave.

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Meeting Rooms. Large Hall for Mass Meetings

Books pen for Sales and Pic-Nics.

WORKMEN PATRONIZE YOUR OWN MOND

## N. Y. PAINTERS

Meet Every Month, 6 P. M., at 138 and 140 East 57th Street.

(This paper will be mailed to every member free of charge by order of the organization, and will contain all such notices and information as are necessary.)

The last meeting of the New York Painters, held on Feb. 15, was well attended, dispatching the necessary business in usual order.

The Amalgamation Committee reported that a mass meeting of the several unions will be held on Wednesday, March 3 next, in Chickering Hall, to lay before the attendance the plans of the new unification and also progress in minor matters.

The report of Arbitration Committee was read and adopted.

A committee from Int. Bakers' Union No. 92 addressed the meeting, seeking aid in their battle against unfair employers by sustaining a boycott on Bon Freitag, 1632 3d Avenue, between 86th and 85th streets, giving full and ample reasons, and distributing circulars. The boycott was indorsed by the C. L. F. Also on another baker boss, Schneider. Members of our union, especially those living in the neighborhood, are requested not to supply themselves with products from above sources.

A letter from Baumgarten and the report of our delegate were read, being closely connected. They were received, and caused a long debate. The delegate received instructions in this matter.

As a great deal of business is to be acted upon, especially relative to the amalgamation, members are hereby notified that the meeting of our body will be held as usual on next Monday, Feb. 22.

One candidate was admitted to membership, and action on several others was postponed for one week.

THE SECRETARY.

## GRAND

## MASQUERADE and CIVIC BALL

arranged by the

Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1,

District Assembly 49, S. T. &amp; L. A.,

—AND THE—

UNITED HEBREW TRADES

FOR THE

## LABOR PRESS

SATURDAY Eve., February 20,

AT THE

Grand Central Palace

Lexington Av., bet. 43rd and 44th St.

The greatest invention of the 19th Century

## REALSCOPE,

Pictures in motion, true to life.

Ballet Dances by the Children Class of

Professor Heiklen.

## 10 Prizes

will be given to the best masks.

Tickets: Gents 25 Cts. Ladies 15 Cts.

## Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum. Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meeting.

Branch 1 (American) S. T. & L. F. Discussion meeting every first Friday. Business meeting every 3rd Friday at 64 East 4th St., New York City. For bona fide trade union members every Sunday 7 P. M. at Stuyvesant Hall, 11th St., and Hudson Building, 57th St. and 58th Ave.

Carl Salm Club (Musicians Union) Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th St., New Labor Lyceum. Business meetings Fri.

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1) Meets 2:30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th St., New York City. For bona fide trade union members every Sunday 7 P. M. at Stuyvesant Hall, 11th St., and Hudson Building, 57th St. and 58th Ave.

Charmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th St.—District I (Bohemia), 54 East 1st St., every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 218 Forsyth street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meet at 100 Avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd St., every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Sunday at 1421 2nd Avenue, at 8 p. m.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th St. Secretary: HENRY ZICK.

German Workers' Union of New York. Office: 355 Bowery. Union Hall: 1st Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same Hall.

Section Essex County, S. T. & L. F., meet 1st Sunday in each month at 8 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 16 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

Scandinavian Section, S. T. & L. F., Meets at 2nd and 3rd Avenues, every Monday at 8 p. m. at Schulz's Hall, 21-23 East 3rd St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Socialist Weekly, BOARD, AM. ARBASTERN.

Socialist Science Club. Meets at Webster Hall, 140th Street and 2nd Avenue, every 1st and 3rd Friday at 8 P. M. Also Free Lecture every Sunday night, 7:30 P. M., preceded by entertainment at same Hall.

Upshotters' Union of New York and Vicinity. Meets 2nd and 3rd Tuesdays at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th St., Secretary: Carl Anders, 22 East 3rd Street.

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

## WORKMEN'S

Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength at present composed of 139 local branches with more than 12,000 male members. It rapidly increasing number of workmen who believe in the principle of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of a fee of \$1.00 for the first class and \$2.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$5.00 for 40 weeks and \$2.50 for another 40 weeks without cessation of work. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$2.50 and \$1.25 respectively. A burial benefit of \$25.00 is granted for every member who dies. Monthly taxes are levied upon members to expend for the maintenance of the society. Branches, a new branch can be formed in any workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above named principles are invited to join. Address all communications to: HENRY ZICK, Financial Secretary, 25-27 2nd Ave., Room 6, New York City.